UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Gandhi and Religious Unity in India

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

The Church of the Future: A Vision

By FRANK C. DOAN

Was the Union Preserved?

By HENRY BAILEY STEVENS

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIV MONDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1924 NUMBER 15

TO FANNY GARRISON VILLARD

(On her 80th Birthday, December 16, 1924)

True daughter you have been of dauntless sire,
Who taught you in your early childhood's hour
To trust the inner voice, and in its power
To stand, nor fear nor dread the stinging fire
Of those that scoff, who dream not nor aspire.
To free the best of life has been your goal,
To find its overtones, . . . its oversoul . . .
So touch the borderland of heart's desire.

To keep life free, make fellowship supreme
Good will to all mankind you would release,
And pledge with all long covenants of Peace . . .
Your hope unfailing shines with radiant gleam,
And crowns with benediction of the years
The beauty of a life which Time reveres.

MARY CRUTTENDON PERCY.

Scientists who are students of the history of mankind tell us that all men come from the same stock. We are racially, or biologically if you prefer, members of one family. It is true that some people have very serious objection to certain members of this family. They question their standing, and feel so keenly about complexions, etc., that they declare these members are simply impossible. These people have no hesitancy in denying their membership *in toto*. Thomas Carlyle's famous Irish widow denied a sister who had scattered the contagion of typhoid fever. Carlyle said,

> Seventeen of you lying dead will not deny such proof that she was flesh of your flesh; and perhaps some of the living may lay it to heart.

Some day perhaps a new Carlyle will in dramatic language make men realize the significance of mulattoes and so-called half castes. He may say,

> Here is the living proof that ye can not deny that ye are members of the same family.

The scientist already knows the significance of the fact that all peoples are inter-fertile. What the scientist now knows is true may sometime dawn upon us when we too recognize the significance of the presence among us of all the shades of color in human beings between extreme white and extreme black. Some folks are inclined to draw closer their racial skirts and turn their racial noses a bit higher when members of the family whose complexions are not standardized pass by. They shut their eyes to the fact that in all lands washed by the seven seas men and women are professing by deed that which their lips deny.

Evidence continues to accumulate that the Japanese situation is serious. In a letter read at the recent meeting of the Federal Council of Churches in Atlanta, Mr. Cyrus E. Woods, former Ambassador to Japan, declared that

> the Japanese Exclusion Act was an international disaster of the first magnitude.

This was a public statement, as were the statements of clergymen at this meeting that they were "deeply disturbed" about the condition of affairs. What is being said privately, however, is much more specific and alarming. The fact we face is the resentment of a great and proud people—that profound sense of injury and insult which smoulders like a forgotten camp-fire, only to burst into flame and thus enkindle a conflagration when a wind suddenly breaks the prevailing calm. Every pacifist influence in Japan has been immeasurably weakened, every militarist influence immeasurably strengthened by what we have done. Every friend of America in Japan has been silenced, every enemy made vocal. Christian influence, with its labors for understanding and sympathy between two great nations, has been blotted out for an indefinite period. And all this havoc done not because any danger was threatening—for the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" was working perfectly—but simply and solely because of a local prejudice as insane as it was ignorant! President Coolidge spoke a wise and much-needed word of counsel in Chicago, when he condemned our national isolation. Sometime we have got to discover that on the east we are a part of Europe, and on the west a part of Asia, and that these contacts involve obligations which cannot be ignored or defied with impunity. We have made the Japanese our enemies. It is expedient, as well as just, that we should strive straightway to make them again our friends.

The complaints of the Preparedness crowd have been silenced, and silenced effectually, by the General Board of the Navy. These feeble little men who tremble like an aspen leaf whenever any foreign nation is mentioned —these cowards who walk the earth, like an old woman in an empty house, in a fever of apprehension—are always clamoring for a bigger navy and a larger army. If we had ships as many as the stars in the sky, they would not be satisfied; if we had soldiers as many as the sands of the sea, they would still be afraid. Con-

stitutionally and temperamentally timid, they see everything distorted. Now comes the statement of the General Board as published by Secretary Wilbur. Since it comes from the Navy, the statement of course finds plenty to criticize. Navy men are partly fanatics, like the Preparedness crowd, and partly faithful and conscientious servants who study their equipment from the standpoint of perfect standards. But the defects enumerated in the report are not the essential thing. What is impressive is the general summary of the naval situation as determined by the Washington Treaty.

"That agreement," says the Board, "made it impossible for any one of the great powers of the world to make a successful invasion across the Atlantic or Pacific."

Personally we do not think that this condition goes back to the Washington Treaty, the positive accomplishments of which have always seemed to us to be negligible. Our immunity from "successful invasion across the Atlantic or Pacific" existed long before the Washington Treaty was ever heard of. Attacks from the air or from the depths of the sea may now be possible that were not possible before, in view of the new weapons used in war and not controlled by the Washington or any other agreement. But attack, be it said, is not invasion! From the latter we are safe, as we have always been safe. It is the General Board that says this now. Such testimony should silence once for all the hysterical agitations for Preparedness in ever greater and greater amount, which have so long been with us.

The Secretary of the Foreign Policy Association of New York, returning from a period of investigation and study in Europe, attributes the victory of the Tories in the recent English election not merely to the collapse of the Liberal Party but also

to the weaknesses of Ramsay MacDonald, his inability to share responsibility, his extreme sensitiveness to criticism, and to many tactical errors arising from his tendency to credit opponents with unworthy motives.

We should be loathe to believe this on the testimony of a single man, however trustworthy, were it not confirmed by a recent statement of an English visitor in this country which drew a comparison between MacDonald and Wilson in terms of collapsed and defeated leadership. Even so, we prefer to wait before accepting judgment of this kind, until at least we see how MacDonald functions in the years ahead as leader of His Majesty's opposition. To us, the ex-Premier is still one of the noblest figures in the public life of the world to-day, and the accomplishments of his few months of office among the supreme achievements of our time. He made mistakes—increasingly so toward the end of his period of control. His campaign, with its raging attacks upon his opponents and his awful bungling of the alleged Zinovieff letter, was deplorable. But every evidence seems to indicate that he was not himself in these latter days—that he was overwrought, wearied physically, intellectually and spiritually to the breaking-point. No man ever carried a heavier burden than he, and we count it fortunate that he was relieved before sheer exhaustion overwhelmed him as it did Woodrow Wilson. We believe that great days are ahead for J. Ramsay MacDonald, and that the world may still look to him for a large measure of its salvation.

Professor Moffatt's new translation of the Old Testament, a companion-piece of his similar translation of the New Testament, has stirred up the usual amount of silly newspaper comment. Texts are wrenched out of their context, isolated words and sentences compared with those in the classic version, and all to the discredit of one of the noblest works of scholarship that our age has seen. As a piece of literature, and for purposes of public worship and private devotion, the King James Bible still stands of course unrivalled. But from the standpoint of scientific accuracy, and for all popular uses of understanding and appreciation, this new translation is of the utmost importance. It gives us our Old Testament in modern setting, so to speak, and therewith raises afresh the question as to the character and worth of these ancient Jewish documents any way! Some of them, the Psalms and Prophets, for example, are among the imperishable spiritual treasures of all time. Some, as for instance Job, are among the greatest of literary monuments. But of the rest of the Old Testament has not Dean Inge spoken the truth when, in discussing Moffatt's translation, he says that the Old Testament merely describes the religious beliefs of a savage tribe of Bedouins, and that modern religious ideas cannot be based on these beliefs? A good part of the Bible, continues the Dean, should be eliminated or forgotten. Those parts, for example, which cannot be read aloud to the family! To which we would add those parts, like the slaying of Sisera or the hewing of Agag, which can be read aloud but certainly ought not to be! The Bible, after all, is a record of its time rather than a prophecy of all time. Most of its content is temporal and not eternal. If we could only learn to read it as we eat fish, saving the clean white meat and throwing away the bones and skin, we would escape many troubles.

If one would be fair to the late Samuel Gompers, one must be careful to view his career as a whole. This career spans what is practically the entire history of organized labor in the United States. When he began working as a young boy, labor was unorganized, unconscious of its rights and powers, the easy victim of the careless and often ruthless exploitation of the business world. There were unions here and there but they were fighting for their lives and had made no impression upon the consciousness of the country. Mr.

Gompers was one of the earliest men to understand the significance of trade unionism, and he was the leader of the movement from the first day of its present development on a national scale. When we remember that Mr. Gomper's active career as a labor leader covers the entire history of the American Federation of Labor, and compare the situation in America today with the situation when Mr. Gompers began, we are able to appreciate the power of this man's work and the permanent significance of his public service. If in later years Mr. Gompers became the outstanding representative of reaction in the world of labor, if he failed entirely to see the importance of what was going on in England and its lesson for this country, if he became the easy tool of partisan politicians on the one hand and of such enemies of the public weal as the members of the Civic Federation on the other, this is only further evidence of what happens when a man grows gray in the service of the cause to which he gave his youth. Mr. Gompers outlived his age, and the fault is not his but that of time. The country does well to honor such a veteran in the service of the cause of human emancipation, and now may look forward with interest and deep concern to the next chapter in the history of American labor. That this chapter shall continue the Gompers regime is impossible. The new time must bring a new leader and a new policy.

August Belmont was buried in New York the other day. The funeral services were held in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine and were conducted by two clergymen, one a bishop. The service began with a procession consisting of the Cathedral choir, the trustees, the honorary pall-bearers and the Cathedral clergy, and was accompanied by a funeral march on the great organ. The reading of the liturgy was interrupted twice by the singing of hymns by the assembled choir. At the end came the singing of "Onward, Christian Soldiers," with the procession "turning south at the parapet, entering the ambulatory, and passing to the Chapel of St. Savior," where the body rested until midnight. The casket was of mahogany, and was buried in and surrounded by hundreds of gorgeous floral tributes. All this was dignified, impressive, beautiful—a noble tribute to one who had greatly befriended the Episcopal church. But why should this service be described by the New York *Times* and other papers, which devote columns of space to the event, with long lists of notables in attendance, as a *"supremely simple service"?* Will somebody, a cross-word puzzle expert, perhaps, tell us what this word "simple" means? And if this service in the great cathedral, with music, processions, clergy and all the rest, is "simple," will somebody please tell us what an elaborate or ornate service would be? We confess that we are getting confused by the use of this particular word. It is the fashion, apparently, to have things "simple," so everything *is* "simple," no matter what its character.

Gandhi and Religious Unity in India

In the October 30th issue of UNITY, we commented upon the Unity Conference held at Delhi by representatives of Hindus and Muslims in response to Gandhi's fast in penance for the dissensions raging between these two groups, and outlined the terms of agreement reached. Since this date, the full text of the Resolutions adopted has reached us, and we print them herewith as a remarkable document of religious history in India, and as a sublime testimonial to the power of the Mahatma's influence and leadership. This is the only publication of the famous agreement that has appeared in this country.

I. MAHATMAJI'S FAST

This Conference places on record its deep grief and concern at the fast which Mahatma Gandhi has undertaken. This Conference is emphatically of opinion that the utmost freedom of conscience and religion is essential and condemns any desecration of places of worship to whatsoever faith they may belong and any persecution or punishment of any person for adopting or reverting to any faith and further condemns any attempt by compulsion to convert people to one's faith or to enforce one's own religious observances at the cost of the rights of others.

The members of the Conference assure Mahatma Gandhi and pledge themselves to use their utmost endeavors to enforce these principles and to condemn any deviation from them even under provocation. This conference further authorizes the President to convey personally to Mahatma Gandhi the united wish of this Conference that Mahatma Gandhi should immediately break his fast in order to permit this Conference to have the benefit of his co-operation, advice and guidance in deciding upon the speediest means of effectively checking the evil which is fast spreading over the country.

II. RACIAL DISSENSIONS DEPLORED

This Conference deplores the dissensions and quarrels that are now going on between Hindus and Muslims in several places in India resulting in loss of life, burning and plunder of property and desecration of temples. The Conference regards them as barbarous and contrary to religion. The Conference tenders its warm sympathy to the sufferers. This Conference is of opinion that it is unlawful and irreligious for any person to take the law into his own hands by way of retaliation or punishment. The Conference is of opinion that all differences, no matter of what nature soever, should be referred to arbitration and if that be impossible even to a court of law.

III. CENTRAL NATIONAL PANCHAYAT

There shall be a Central National Panchayat of not more than 15 persons, with power to organize and appoint local Panchayats in consultation with the local representatives of the different communities, to enquire into and settle all disputes and differences including recent occurrences, where necessary and desirable. The said National Panchayat shall have power to frame rules and regulations for carrying out this resolution.

The Conference appoints the following to act at the Central National Panchayat with power to add to their number up to 15 and co-opt local representatives as additional members:—

1. Mahatma Gandhi (Chairman and Convenor).
2. Hakim Ajmal Khan
3. Lala Lajpat Rai
4. Mr. G. K. Nariman

5. Dr. S. K. Datta
6. Master Sundar Singh of Lyallpur.

IV. General Principles To Be Observed

With a view to give effect to the general principles promoting better relations between the various communities of India laid down in Resolution 1 and to secure full toleration of all faiths, beliefs and religious practices this Conference records its opinion:—

(a) That every individual or group shall have full liberty to hold and give expression to his or their beliefs and follow any religious practice with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with their rights. In no case may such individual or group revile the founders, holy persons or tenets of any other faith.

(b) That all places of worship, of whatever faith or religion, shall be considered sacred and inviolable and shall on no account be attacked or desecrated whether as a result of provocation or by way of retaliation for sacrilege of the same nature. It shall be the duty of every citizen, of whatever faith or religion, to prevent such attack or desecration as far as possible and where such attack or desecration has taken place it shall always be promptly condemned.

(c) (i) That Hindus must not expect that the exercise of the right of cow-slaughter by Muslims can or will be stopped by the use of force, resolution of a local body, act of legislature or order of court but only by mutual consent and must trust to the good sense of Muslims and the establishment of better relations between the two communities to create deeper respect for their feelings.

(ii) Nothing stated in the above clause shall unsettle or affect any local custom or agreement between the two communities already in existence, nor will it authorize cow-slaughter in a place where it has not taken place before; any dispute on facts should be settled by the National Panchayat formed under Resolution No. 3.

(iii) Cow-slaughter shall not take place in a way offensive to the religious sentiments of the Hindus.

(iv) The Muslim members of the Conference hereby call upon their co-religionists to do everything in their power to reduce cow-slaughter.

(d) (i) That Muslims must not expect to stop Hindu music near or in front of mosques by force, resolution of a local body, act of legislature or order of court except by mutual consent but must rely upon the good sense of Hindus to respect their feelings.

(ii) Nothing stated in the above clause shall unsettle or affect any local custom or agreement between the two communities already in existence nor shall it authorize the playing of music in front of mosques where it has not been played before. Any dispute with regard to the latter shall be referred for settlement to the National Punchayat formed under Resolution No. 3.

(iii) The Hindu members of this Conference call upon their co-religionists to avoid playing music before mosques in such a manner as to disturb congregational prayers.

(e) (i) That Muslims must not expect to stop by force, resolution of a local body, act of legislature or order of court, except by mutual consent, the performance of arti or the playing of music including the blowing of shankus by Hindus during worship and on other occasions in their houses or temples or public places at any time even if the house or temple or place in question is situated in close proximity to a mosque; but they should trust to the good sense of the Hindus to accommodate them.

(ii) Nothing stated in the above clause shall unsettle or affect any local custom or agreement between the two communities already in existence; any dispute on facts should be settled by the National Panchayat formed under Resolution No. 3.

(f) That Muslims are at liberty to chant Azan or offer prayers in their own houses or in any mosque or public place not set apart for the religious observance of any other community.

(g) (i) Where the slaughter of an animal or sale of meat is permissible on other grounds, no objection shall be taken to the method of slaughter, whether by "Jhatka," "Bali" or "Zibah."

(ii) Wherever there is any dispute regarding the sale of any kind of meat in a particular locality or quarter it shall be referred for settlement to the local Panchayat.

(h) That every individual is at liberty to follow any faith and to change it whenever he so wills, and shall not by reason of such change of faith render himself liable to any punishment or persecution at the hands of the fol lowers of the faith renounced by him.

(i) That every individual or group is at liberty to convert or reconvert another by argument or persuasion but must not attempt to do so or prevent its being done by force, fraud or other unfair means, such as the offering of material inducement. Persons under 16 years of age should not be converted unless it be along with their parents or guardians. If any person under 16 years of age is found stranded without his parent or guardian by a person of another faith, he should be promptly handed over to persons of his own faith. There must be no secrecy about any conversion or re-conversion.

(j) That no community should attempt to stop by force the construction of a new place of worship by a member of another community on his own land but such new place of worship should be built at a reasonable distance from an existing place of worship of any other community.

V. Exaggerations By Press Condemned

This Conference is of opinion that a section of the press, specially in the North, is responsible for increasing the tension between different communities by publishing wild exaggerations, reviling each other's religion and by every means fomenting prejudice and condemns such writings and appeals to the public to stop patronage of such newspapers and pamphlets and advises central and local Panchayats to supervise such writings and from time to time to publish correct versions.

VI. Improper Acts Regarding Mosques Condemned

It having been represented to this Conference that in certain places acts of impropriety have been committed in relation to mosques the Hindu members of this Conference condemn such acts wherever committed.

VII. Full Toleration

The Hindu and Muslim members of this Conference call upon their co-religionists to extend full tolerance to the minor communities of India and to deal with them in all questions of communal intercourse with justice and generosity.

VIII. Appeal To Avoid Boycotts

This Conference is of opinion that attempts on behalf of members of one community to boycott members of any other community and to stop social or commercial relations with them made in certain parts of the country are reprehensible and are an effective bar to the promotion of good relations between the various communities in India. The Conference therefore appeals to all communities to avoid any such boycotts and exhibitions of ill-will.

What has been accomplished, or at least nobly attempted, in this plan of unity between sects long bitterly hostile to one another, would seem to suggest the way of ending differences in religion everywhere. Mutual respect and consideration, tolerance, and the love of unity for its own sake, are all we need for spiritual brotherhood.

J. H. H.

Jottings

The great Wilberforce, speaking in 1809 on the reform of Parliament, said: "Let us not . . . libel the constitution so far as to say that it is necessary to its preservation that we should cherish its radical defects" (see "Wilberforce," by R. Coupland, page 364). This statement is commended to timid Americans to-day.

That brilliant journalist, Mr. William Bolitho, speaks of "that new lay religion, the worship of the Unknown Soldier." This religion is a real religion, which puts the religion of the churches to shame. And it is the religion of Mars, not Christ.

We altogether fail to understand the enthusiasm of our 100 per cent Americans over the Nordics and their alleged supremacy. If there are any true-blue Nordics in the world, they are the Germans. Yet these Germans are not so popular with our professional patriots. It looks to us as though somebody were badly mixed somewhere.

Hubert C. Herring, referring to the defeat of the Child Labor Amendment in the referendum vote in Massachusetts in the recent election, speaks of it as "the shame of Massachusetts." Well spoken! Massachusetts?—there she stands, lined up with Georgia on the child labor issue.

The more we see and hear of the Modernists in the orthodox churches, the more we respect the Fundamentalists. We know exactly where these latter stand, what they believe and why. The Modernists, *per contra,* believe anything, everything and nothing. There is one fundamental not to be escaped, after all, and that is intellectual integrity.

DEFINITIONS—*Diplomat,* an official whose business it is to lie for his government.

J. H. H.

The Church of the Future

A VISION

Within the last century, and particularly since the publication about seventy-five years ago of Darwin's great book on the Origin of Species, the church has been steadily losing its hold upon educated men and women. Thoughtful people do not go to church any more. The average sermon by the average preacher, they will tell you, does not feed them very much. They find it far more profitable to stay at home and read the latest book in science or history or economics,—Wells's Outline of History, for example. And during this same period, and probably for the same underlying reasons, the church has also lost its hold upon the reformers and dreamers of the world. I am thinking of people like Miss Jane Addams of Hull House, Miss Florence Kelly, and social workers generally. These people do not go to church any more,—not as a rule. Indeed, they will tell you quite frankly that a church is the last place on earth they would think of going to for the inspiration and the good will they so need in their great work of relieving the world's suffering and healing the world's wounds. They ask for bread and the church gives them a stone. They ask for meat and the church poisons them with a sectarian serpent. They ask for the fresh milk of human kindness,—something to sustain them in their day's work; the church gives them a thin broth of yesterday's warmed over superstitions and traditions.

Now it would be possible to quote a very imposing array of statistics to prove that the church has been steadily losing ground and to show that the people who do go to church at all regularly are either illiterates, or cowards, or mere creatures of habit, or social climbers, or something; anything except intelligent and earnest-hearted. But I forbear. Let me just summarize this indictment of the church by quoting a sentence or two from a very typical article which appeared some time ago in the New York *Nation,* an article entitled "The Church's One Salvation." "Thinking people," the writer says, "in their attitude toward the church nowadays fall into three classes: their feeling is one of ridicule or of pity or of indifference." "The mass of citizens," he goes on to say, "pay no more heed to the pronouncements of the church than to the buzzing of flies," and later on, changing his figure, the writer says: "Eddying about in its sixteenth century backwater the church sees the stream of humanity rushing by to an unknown ocean."

Such is the situation in which the church undeniably finds itself today—abandoned and discredited by the two most important classes in our human society, the thinkers and the dreamers of the world. Now why should this be so? Is it that the thinkers and dreamers of the world have grown irreligious? Is it that the whole world has entered upon a dark age, an age of indifference to eternal things and of contempt for the sanctities of human life? Not at all. The truth is that men today, especially these thinkers and dreamers of the world, are concerned as perhaps never before in the history of the human spirit on this earth, for justice and good will. They are determined, as certainly never before in the history of the world, to see to it that these eternal things are builded solidly into these human lives and human institutions of ours. If, therefore, they have abandoned the church it is not because they are indifferent or contemptuous. Nay, it is because they find the church cold and indifferent and apathetic, or at best only half-hearted in its advocacy of these things which they do love more than life itself. They long for human brotherhood. They go to church and they find not brotherhood but sectarianism there. The church of Christ, the great Apostle of good will, divided against itself into over a hundred warring and con-

tentious sects. They long for the truth. They go to church and find the minister there either ignorant or indifferent or afraid of the truth. And so in the end they just give it up. When they want real brotherhood now they join some fraternal order. When they want to serve, they offer themselves to some social settlement. When they want the truth they go to hear an honest lecturer or sit down and read an honest book.

Now the writer has no apology to make for the church and no excuses to offer for it. Indeed, I find myself on the side of its critics, not of its apologists. I am within the church, as it happens, and I do love it, but I don't love its faults! I hate its sectarianism, for example, just as heartily as those do who have abandoned the church in disgust of its sectarian spirit. I do believe in the church and its high office in human society, its office of taking each new truth as it comes fresh from the great laboratories and great thinkers of the world and showing men how to apply these truths to life in its every-day aspects. But when the church forgets its high calling and is blind to the truth or indifferent or hostile toward it, or afraid of it, I may feel sad about it but I don't apologize for it! Take, for example, the church's attitude towards Evolution. Some of my readers may have seen the pronouncement a few months ago of the National Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, an organization of more than eleven thousand of the leading scientists of the country. Let me reprint here two or three sentences from their proceedings:

> The council affirms that so far as the scientific evidences of evolution are concerned, there is no ground whatever for the assertion that these evidences constitute "a mere guess." No scientific generalization is more strongly supported by thoroughly tested evidences than is that of organic evolution.
>
> The council affirms that the evidences in favor of the evolution of man are sufficient to convince every scientist of note in the world and that these evidences are increasing in number and importance every year.
>
> The council of the Association also affirms that the theory of evolution is one of the most potent of the great influences for good that have thus far entered into human experience.

Now when I turn from this candid and unequivocal statement of the world's great scientists and take down from my shelf a book like Andrew D. White's "Warfare of Science and Religion" and read there how the church has fought this truth every inch of the way, and when I find the church even today, under the leadership of Mr. Bryan, seeking by ecclesiastical legislation to forbid the preaching of this truth in the churches and by state legislation to stop the teaching of it in the schools and colleges of the land;—when the church, I say, stands like this in the way of a great and ennobling truth, I feel sad for it but I don't apologize for it! So much then for the church of the past. It is no part of my intention to defend it where its position is indefensible nor to excuse it when its actions have been inexcusable.

Now what of the future? It was my task a few years ago to write a review of a certain book by a certain Bishop. I had a good deal of quiet amusement over the title of the good Bishop's book, "What Shall the Church Do to Be Saved." "Isn't it amusing," I said to myself, "Isn't it diverting? For many years now the church has been telling men what they must do to be saved and here is a great Bishop of the greatest church next to the Catholic, solemnly asking the world what the church must do to be saved!" But the Bishop was right in one respect. The church of the past has made terms with men, telling them what *they* must and must not do, *what* they may or may not believe, in order to be saved. In the future all this will be changed. The tables have been turned. Henceforth men are going to make terms with the church and tell the church what *it* must do to be saved! Indeed, the thinkers and dreamers of the world have already made terms with the church by the very rude but effective method of abandoning it altogether!

Now what shall the church of the future be? What must it be if we would hold men and inspire men and lead them along the great highway of life toward the eternal?

Well, of course, certain things are perfectly obvious. The church as a sectarian institution must go; it must cease to darken the counsels and embitter the hearts of men with its narrow sectarian distinctions. It must cease to live by the traditions and hang on to the superstitions of the past. But all that, I say, is too obvious. It certainly needs no elaboration for readers of UNITY. But there are certain deeper lessons that the church must learn if it would survive. Let me mention a few in passing.

The church of the future, for one thing, is going to teach men to face life with joy and not with fear. We know now, thanks to modern psychology, that he is a false prophet and that a false church which brings fear into any man's life. To be afraid of God is worse than not to believe in him at all. To go through the years afraid of life is worse than never to have lived at all. This is one of the articles in the ultimatum which the thinkers and dreamers of the world are laying down before the church today.

"If I come to worship within your four walls," this modern man is saying to the church, "and then in an hour or so I go forth with a heavier heart than that I concealed within my breast on entering your portals; with less courage, not more; less wisdom with less joy,—well, I am not coming again next Sunday, that's all! Why should I? I am not afraid to stay away any more. Why should I enter a stuffy old church when God's great open country lies before me, inviting me to stroll in green pastures and to lie down by still waters and listen to the song of his birds and to breathe in his health and joy of living."

For another thing, educated men and women are going to demand of the church that it show them how to live on the higher levels and how to breathe in these higher altitudes of life. For every man does have these two levels within him,—the one high, the other low. This, indeed, is the practical truth in that doctrine of Evolution. On the lower level a man is still a good deal of an animal, a creature of his physical appetites, the victim of his physical propensities,—selfish, grasping, lusting for power, position and preferment, what he calls "success." But on the higher level he is a God, —strong, noble, self-effacing, self-sacrificing, divine, Christ-like. And the whole meaning of life, or of evolution,—for it comes to the same thing,—is in this struggle between the two natures of man, the one animal, the other divine. And the church? It must put itself squarely on the side of the divine, on the side of evolution. It must show men that it is their duty, their plain duty, to beget on this earth a race of men who shall be as superior to us of this generation as we are higher than our own ape-like ancestors. And the thinkers and dreamers of the world are saying just this to the church today. "You must not, oh! you must not, go on teaching that human beings are worthless worms, fit only to be damned eternally, and never to be saved

except by some sort of miraculous concession on the part of a disgusted and angry God, or by the intervention of some kind-hearted Nazarene. We are all divine in our better and more progressive moments! We are all Christs in the making! This is the truth, the gospel truth. And it is a truth which sadly needs to be proclaimed to this wicked and discouraged and disheartened generation. Preach this gospel and we will flock to your churches and support you and bless you. But preach it not and we will leave you sadly but severely alone. And our children, it may be, less tolerant than we, will live to curse you for a false religion, the proclaimer of a false God, and the advocate of a false Christ!"

Such, in faint outline, is the church of the future, as seen through the eyes, the far-seeing eyes, of the thinkers and dreamers of today.

Sometimes in my quieter and happier moods a glimpse is given me of the Church of the Future. There it stands, four-square, in the midst of us men of earth. Its four cornerstones I see,—one of solid Justice, one of solid Joy, one of solid Love, one of solid Peace. And, O, but they are built firmly into the structure of that great Temple of Humanity. I stand outside for a moment. I see no sign of any Sect over its wide-open portals. I look up at its spire. And it is as a great pillar of fire ascending into the heavens. The shaft of it goes up and up until at last it disappears from all human sight in a perfect blaze of Justice and Joy and Love and Peace. And, O, how it sets on fire the hearts of all men who come within its enlightening and enkindling rays!

I go in and look to the chancel in the East. And there at last I do see a sign and symbol of this religion of the future. It appears like a great chalice of purest gold, and it reaches from the lower floors of the Temple straight up and through the vaulted roof! A great communion chalice. And as I watch I see it overflowing with love and good will, its mystic pure wine inundating and covering the hearts of all men, even as the waters cover the sea.

I look about me and, behold a great multitude! All the peoples of the earth are gathered there, perfecting a great Federation of the Nations of the World. A Parliament of Mankind meeting at last in a Temple of God!

I wait and listen. And presently a stir in that vast congregation! I look and, behold, a Man, a great plain Man is mounting a rough-hewn pulpit in the East! He looks tired, very worn, very old. He can hardly speak above a whisper. But he seems very happy! Look! Beneath the lines of care you can see a great light, you can, if you have eyes to see. The light of undaunted youth is there, and of a great hope. It is as if he understood somehow and knew somehow that men do revere the truth, and do eagerly seek after justice, and are ready to love one another.

And listen! His words are whispered in a still, small voice. And yet somehow they go thundering through the aisles of that green Cathedral! He is telling the nations on what grounds, on what eternal grounds alone, their precious Federation can be builded so as to endure forever,—even the grounds of justice and love laid out for it by the Ancient of Days from the foundation of the world. And whilst he speaks I see certain men getting up and quietly slipping away from that holy place. One I recognize as a slave-driver. He is going out to free all his slaves. Another is a great potentate. He is going out to stop a war. Another a politician. He is going to give back to the people the spoils of his high office. Another is an employer of little children. He is going to put an end to this unprofitable business of his and to convert his mills into schools and playgrounds. And so they go, these ancient offenders against the Most-High, not in bitterness, not in anger, not even in shame; but thoughtfully and with the strength of a new purpose in their minds, the light of a new resolve in their eyes, the sense of a new love in their hearts.

And, strangest of all, there is in that vast Cathedral of the Future a great peace and quietness. Men come and go in great throngs, but silently as in a holy place. It is like the silence of eternity. Nay, it *is* the silence of eternity. For God, the spirit of the silent stars, the spirit of the silent centuries; God, the ancient of days, is the in-dwelling spirit of that great Cathedral of Humanity.

FRANK C. DOAN.

Was the Union Preserved?

As election after election passes, it becomes more and more of a question whether the boasted reunion of North and South has any inherent political meaning. The solid Democratic South and the rock-ribbed Republican Northeast make little pretense at anything but an abject and obstinate reiteration of sectional partisanship. There have been no less than thirty Congressional "appeals to the people" since the Civil War, and half as many presidential elections; yet the merging of the Confederacy in the Union seems to have occurred in the history-books rather than in actual fact. Straw-vote reporters never trouble to go into either Alabama or Vermont.

The evil effects of this hardening of our political arteries have been given more attention than the causes of it. Healthy democracy is founded upon the possibility of a free conflict of ideas; but there has not been a national election for half a century that has been anything more than a formality in the South. A question which might stir the newer sections of the country to the depths leaves the old embittered regions cold. There can be no fun in playing when the cards are stacked.

Instead of obliterating Mason and Dixon's line, there is good reason to believe that the Civil War has actually served to deepen it until it is now taken as much for granted as would be national boundaries. The War preserved the Union, historians have told us. Is it not possible that it has actually perpetuated disunion?

A whole apple may be forced bodily into a jar of apple jelly, but that does not change its character. In 1860 the South declared itself a separate unit; up to 1924 it has constantly remained such.

The common interpretation of history on this point is roughly as follows: The South, driven into a temper by the slave question, stalked out of the house and slammed the door on the rest of the country. Whereupon the r. of the c. in a bloody four years' war knocked the South down and brought it back into the house, where it has been recuperating ever since. This process

of reuniting the nation has been greatly to the glory of the household and well worth the million lives and three thousand million dollars which it cost.

However comforting this view of history may be to us, it is hardly in accord with the facts. We have obtained by coercion the physical presence of the South in our national frame-work; but through two generations we have not won its mind and have probably only just begun to win its heart. If we had let the South go its own way and allowed it to float its Stars and Bars over Richmond, no one can say that it would have remained so long separate from us. Many a married couple have started for the divorce court and soon changed their minds; nor can anyone say that had the South actually maintained a separate government, we might not have established working agreements with it as satisfactory as those of today. Norway and Sweden have not been greatly weakened since their separation without blows.

At any rate the important point is that coercion has not actually achieved the results which have been claimed for it. The South has not dissolved into the Union, even though it has been "preserved" therein. It is a political lump in itself,—a fact which is axiomatic even with a wardboss.

Some of us are coming to realize the utter futility and terrific waste of the last War; we might also go a little further back.

HENRY BAILEY STEVENS.

Durham, New Hampshire.

Utopia: 1925

. . . it is our utopias that make the world tolerable to us.
—*Lewis Mumford.*

Strange what remarkably happy things men can do in a short time, once aroused to a genuine appreciation of human life! No silly gabble of sophisticated prophets; no criminal neglect and betrayal of leaders and rulers; no lies from platform and pulpit, can prevent men from doing the right thing, after they have broken away from the worship of the idols of their miserable past, learning to distinguish the right from the wrong, the good from the evil and the great joy of an unfolding moral and intellectual life from the thraldom of an industrial civilization socially and spiritually bankrupt. Political states and their chimera may gloriously rise and fall. Kings, presidents and cabinets may noisily come and go; but the inalienable rights of mankind, driven by life and the sense of justice, now as ever triumphantly assert themselves, aiming toward a life of harmony and happiness. A thrilling spectacle of that triumphant march was staged in the year of our Lord 1925, immediately following the inauguration of the 31st President of our United States.

The new era began with the President's inaugural address which was greeted enthusiastically by far the greatest representative assembly that ever faced the East Capitol on such an occasion. In his epoch-making speech the President reviewed poignantly past history, boldly reiterating the principles upon which governments are justifiable, and fearlessly bringing forward the momentous lessons to be learned.

"No government has a right to exist unless it aim the fullest physical, spiritual and cultural development of its citizens," rang the President's message. "No government is fulfilling its just place in modern society unless it labor to bring out the latent potentialities in the individual men and women of its minorities as well as ruling majorities. All scientific and industrial progress is either a sham or a crime if all it does is to introduce new slaveries and the prompter and wider destruction of human life and happiness. All higher education is a misnomer and a farce unless it instil the blessings of a rational and fruitful mind, guiding men to the portals of beneficent activities. All religion is a failure if it fails to implant in the hearts of men love for life and reverence for one's neighbor, and peace among nations, races and classes. Also, no progress is lasting unless it proceed from the intelligent will and spiritual aspirations of the awakened masses in the Commonwealth." Thus reverberated the air of our jubilant Capital, broadcasting to a gasping world the glad tidings of a new day to come.

Then the fleeting days of merriment gave way to the long and trying days of indefatigable labor. And gradually the old order began to give way to the new tide of events, led by an aroused public opinion.

Acting upon the advice of the leading Senators and Congressmen, an executive order was issued inviting to a special joint session of the Houses the active representatives of the Nation's creators. Capital and Labor, producers and consumers, bankers and investors, fraternities and parties who speak in the name and care for the well-being of great portions of our citizenship, —all received the call to meet the urgency of the hour. And again the President faced a great national convention with hundreds of interested representatives from foreign countries crowding the galleries, eager for the message and example of the most efficient and wonderful Americans. As in the days of glory gone, the spirit of '76 was heard again, appealing to the makers of the nation for a rededication to life, liberty and the rational pursuit of individual and social happiness, calling to test the very integrity of our boasting age.

"The purpose of human life," broadcasted Washington the President's appeal, "should be not profit and slavery, but service and happines; not suppression, but wholesome expression; not fear, but understanding; not the discords of hatred, prejudice and war, but the blessings of harmony and creative peace; not force, but reason and sympathy; and that children should be born into this world not to be used as cannon-fodder or for the inhuman degradations of an uncertain material existence, but for a life of ennobling vocations and avocations, to be spent in peace and in the moderate enjoyment of all those delightful pursuits which are made possible by our age of victorious science and unlimited wealth. And since by sheer force of common sense we must grant that human life deserves a better fate than slavery and annihilation, it becomes our immediate duty to follow with the realization and confession that the things that should be done *could be done* with the aid of our science and wealth. The one requirement being—*to will.* We have the intelligence. We have the means. Now let's join our united will to do the right and make man's utopia come through. Have we the right to neglect the call of the hour? No!

And a thousand times, no! Before the judgment of posterity; for the sake of our own innocent infants upon our mothers' breasts; and with the sad memories of our immediate past where Christian nations had met for mutual destruction, we must not be silent; we must not tire repeating the needs of the day; we must not be 'glided' again into a repetition of the colossal crime of the magnitude of that human slaughter of 1914-1918. *We must will to take the saner view of life and human values and accordingly reorganize social institutions for a fuller gratification of life's physical and cultural needs.* It should be done. It can be done. It must be done. With the help of science, wealth, reason and a strong will, there is nothing that can hinder mankind from a course of salvation. Let us refuse now to make the beginning for a saner life, and a repetition of the great tragedy becomes inevitable.

Thirteen million sons murdered in cold blood. Thirteen million innocent men, women and children killed by plagues caused by the last war. Nine million innocent children left orphans by that war. Five million innocent women, widows of the war. Ten million men, women and children made homeless by the war. 16,585 human lives murdered daily for 1,567 days at a daily cost of 215 millions of dollars* . . . and at the command of Christian statesmen and generals who acted with the blessings of the ecclesiastical traitors of the Gospels! Was that not enough havoc for such a brief period of four years' history? Who dares to let nations "glide" into a similar cauldron of destruction? . . .

The effect of the President's challenge upon the Nation's assembled leaders and foreign representatives is indescribable. And the state, national and international activities that immediately took place, easily manifested the spirit that suddenly won its way in all walks of social life, laying the foundation for individual happiness and international peace.

With the spiritual and active aid of the federal and state Legislatures and Executives, national and international leaders in the fields of education, production and distribution of the world's wealth began to convene for the immediate teaching and building of a life for service and happiness, for union and peace. Committees of experts got busy on the national and international inventories of natural resources and needs of mankind, aiming at the proper distribution of material and cultural means. Individual and national fears and jealousies vanished, when and how unknown. Destructive rivalries perished by their own venom. Armies and navies became objects of unhappy memories, being gradually transformed into peaceful agencies, creating and aiding the universal distribution of health and happiness. Ruling majorities suddenly became aware of their indebtedness to their long suppressed minorities. Mighty nations learned to repent the sins of omission and commission perpetrated against their smaller and weaker neighbors. Each and all found unexpected aid and comfort in the life and growth of the rest. And a new race of mortals, ever growing physically, morally and intellectually, made its first advance with such valor, rapidity and success in working for the common weal, that even the world's most chronic reactionaries and skeptics joined in celebration. For even the lowest of lives and intellects rejoice with their better selves when given the balsam air of a saner and humaner life.

I opened my eyes and raised my head. I was standing under the magnificent edifice of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in the course of construction. Its stately beauty from Morningside Heights attracted my eyes and I entered its portals to find myself carried off in a trance, brooding over the ways of men.

Men keep on building new temples, while those completed are often deserted and seldom filled. Men keep on worshipping an invisible God, while the children of that God are neglected and open to abuse. And the mind turned to the possibilities of the erection of the true Cathedral of the Spirit and of Man. And how logical, simple and practicable the course! It can be done, if men will set their will and riches to the task.

The Utopia of 1925 is a dream, but one that can come true even in the year of our Lord 1925. Let the best in men only will to follow Reason, Justice and Truth.

New York City. DAVID GITTLEMAN.

Leaders and Lead! From a School Boy's Composition on War

Leaders may use lead for good or evil purposes.

Today the leaders who dominate the thought and action of the western world have a large amount of lead at their disposal. Under our present commercial standards those who have a large sum of gold or silver with which to purchase lead are able to obtain the name of being real leaders, although they may not be worthy of the title, or equal to the responsibility. Some leaders use lead as a means of killing their brothers, and others use it as a tool with which to mould public opinion—not to tell the truth.

Bullets are made out of lead. Type is made out of lead. Type is a product of higher civilization; the bullet is a reminder of days of the beast-man age when murder was a pleasant past time because his brain was too small to think out a better form of employing his idle time. In a day not far distant all leaders who are worthy of the name will cease to employ bullets as a means of getting people to follow them. The leaders in the future will employ type to secure a following. These new leaders will print the truth, not as propaganda but as truth because it is truth.

The leader who builds an empire, material, or thought, upon the strength of bullets alone should not be admired by thinking people. The leader in the world of thought should not be taken seriously until there is ample proof that his types are not a means of promoting a selfish propaganda. Only leaders who are able to conquer the field by a clear and emphatic presentation of the eternal truths of life should be tolerated by mankind. If our spiritual leaders would use lead correctly it would abolish war, and at the same time elevate the entire world to a higher moral and spiritual level.

But now most of our leaders are doing and saying things which cause plans to be made for future wars. War consists of hurling pieces of lead into the bodies of men in the attempt to destroy them. The desire to fight is a fundamental instinct born in the race, but in these modern times there is no excuse for killing any one. In these days of advanced civilization war should be declared only upon, and fought against, the economic,

*See "War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure." By Kirby Page.

the social, and the moral shortcomings of the present.

There now is an opportunity for a high minded leader to establish a peace army. This peace army could very well be made a part of the youth movement. This peace army could be handled in much the same manner as the present war army in the government, and in organization. Texts which quote the best thoughts from all peace advocates should be employed. Recast the bullets of war into types which speak the truth, and the wholesale destruction of war will soon be an impossibility. Rank in this army would be based upon scholarship and upon the individual's ability to render service to mankind. Every young person, regardless of sex, race, or religion, should have at least a year's experience in this peace army. By careful planning and co-operation the expenses for each individual could be made very low. Trips to different parts of the country could be taken and tours abroad might be planned for those who best fitted; to tell Europe that there is peace. National training for peace is the task now to be presented by the liberal religious press of the world.

When war is no more, people must still have worlds to conquer. They must have something to work for, something to fight for, if they are to be happy, and as a common race are to grow in the likeness of *God*. The seats of propaganda will need tearing down and the machinery of truth set up in their places. After bullets are abolished the other powers which mould, or try to mould, public opinion for selfish or evil purposes must be abolished. The public must be taught to disregard the pleas of selfish propaganda and listen to the truth of a free press.

The leaders who use material things, such as metals, to advance the spiritual growth of the people are commendable; but if they use it for purposes selfish the unnatural use is to be condemned. The correct use of lead leads to truth and happiness, but the misuse of lead brings only misery and destruction.

EDMOND G. HAMMOND.

THE STUDY TABLE

Book Notices

"The Haskell Lectures" given at the University of Chicago in the summer of 1921 by Prof. Kenneth J. Saunders have now appeared in book form.[1] Prof. Saunders has studied Buddhism in the field. He has made pilgrimage of the sacred places of India, he knows Ceylon and Burma, where the more primitive form of the religion lingers and he has been in contact with its latest and most developed form in Japan. He has learned their viewpoint from the lips of the priests and monks of the present day and has studied the literature from the beginning on. All of this preparation makes for a freshness and liveliness not always present in studies of alien creeds. His mode of treatment is novel and attractive. He takes for his lecture titles the names of places which are associated with the development of Buddhist thought and belief and traces the evolution of the religion from the beginning into the various present forms, step by step. Thus, his first chapter—*Rajagaha: the Middle Path*—discusses the original expression of Buddhism as it was given at the first centre in the Master's own words. The second chapter—*Pataliputra*—gives the spread of the *Dhamma* and its safeguarding. So, from place to place the author follows the spreading and expanding religion, showing the antiquity and rise of Mahayana and the extension of the ever-changing creed into Ceylon, Siam, Burma, China, Korea and Japan. Through these chapters the modifications taking place in thought, due to environmental and racial contact, are clearly and interestingly traced. While the book contains the Haskell lectures almost as originally delivered, there is some additional material. It is written with generous sympathy. Its attitude is fairly expressed by the author himself in the statement:

> The followers of the two Ways (Christianity and Buddhism) have every reason to associate in friendship and to unite in social service. They are both faced with immensely difficult problems of social and international relations. I hope this book may in some measure be a bridge between them.

There is a wide-spread tendency to discount the Annual Reports of Reforms and Progress put out, year by year, by the government-general of Chosen (Korea).[2] It is true that they are always the best possible presentation of conditions. It is also true that they always contain a mass of useful information nowhere else to be had in equally convenient form. They are, also, well illustrated and the pictures are usually up to date, well taken and fairly well produced. There is no question that Korea has made notable material progress under Japanese control. Ports have been improved, railroads have been developed, roads have been constructed and extended, afforestation has been undertaken, agriculture has been encouraged. The natives are more secure in life and property than ever before, taxes are better administered, courts are more just and equitable. In all these directions there has been constant and genuine improvement under the Japanese government of Korea. Such improvements have been undertaken and carried out by every governor-general that the peninsula has had. Today, however, there are other reforms more important and far-reaching, which are largely due to the present governor-general, Baron Saito. Coming into office at a moment of special difficulty, just after the independence movement, exceptional wisdom and skill were necessary—to avoid on the one hand harsh and arbitrary methods, and on the other a yielding that would be weak and attributed to fear or uncertainty. The report before us represents the results of his policy, after it had had time for a fair trial. Many things in it deserve mention. We shall call attention to but three, neither of which is over-emphasized in the report, but all of which are worthy of recognition. The old distinction between Korean and Japanese officials in the matter of salary has been abolished; school opportunities for young Koreans have been greatly increased; Koreans, encouraged by conditions, are entering into business and industrial enterprises, utilizing opportunities that are greater than they have ever enjoyed before. Such reforms are having an effect and a better feeling is developing between Koreans and Japanese. As we write this notice, we learn with regret that Baron Saito has offered his resignation: we hope that it will be refused. The governors-general of Korea have been too many and their period of service has been too short. Time is

[1] "Epochs in Buddhist History." Kenneth J. Saunders. Chicago: 1924. The University of Chicago Press. 16mo; pp. xix, 243.

[2] "Annual Report of Reforms and Progress in Chosen" (1921-1922). Keijo (Seoul): 1923. Lg. 8vo; pp. xiv, 274.

necessary for the successful operation of any policy and changes in policy are disastrous. Baron Saito has made a good beginning; he should be continued in office for years to come. A change now would be especially unfortunate.

The mountain of books regarding Mexico steadily increases; Mexico as a theme seems to be inexhaustible. Books galore—good, bad and indifferent—deal with our neighboring republic from every point of view. Some of them are friendly, some hostile. Most of those that have appeared since 1910 have dealt with politics, conditions, relations, probabilities. Newest in this kind is Beals' "Mexico: an Interpretation.[3] The author has visited Mexico since 1918. He has come into contact with the different groups that have been in conflict in the country. He has seen Carranza's regime and debacle, de la Huerta's interim administration, Obregon's efforts at development. He has had exceptional opportunity to meet the men who have played a part in the interesting events of the last six years. He has hope for the Mexican people and for Mexico's future. On the whole he is sympathetic and would like to have Mexico deal with her problems in her own way, without interference and direction from ourselves. His book is divided into four parts—Background, Rise of the Mexican People, The Social Fabric, The Foreign Invasion. Of these the third and fourth are the most important and interesting. In the third, our author analyzes Mexican society into its elements and considers each in detail. The sections on *the Aristocracy* and *the Church* deserve a careful and thoughtful reading. There is much truth in both but, if they are completely true, Mr. Beals is hardly justified in his hopefulness for the future, for after all Mexico must depend to a large degree upon those two elements. In The Foreign Invasion, three topics are considered—the foreigner, American capital, the United States government. Every American citizen who loves his country and desires her to be respected by other nations as a truly great and wise land should read these sections with serious consideration. We have been neither great nor wise in our dealings with Mexico and it is well for us to see and know the fact. It is true, as claimed on the cover-wrapper of Beals' book, that "today there is great need for America to understand Mexico." It is equally true that there is great need for her to understand herself.

No man has made a deeper impression on the annals of Illinois than John P. Altgeld. Opinions regarding him range in two camps. To many, he is the embodiment of the dangerous demagogue, a man of lawless tendencies, an agitator and an anarchist; to many others, he is a model of integrity, a defender of the poor, a statesman of clear vision. We are fortunate in now having a record of his life and work.[4] Mr. Altgeld might have aspired to the Senate, even to the Presidency. Had he been inspired merely by a spirit of self-seeking he would probably have secured anything to which he aspired. But he was a man of the type of Lincoln; he thought first of the common people and their rights. A man of extraordinary clearness of thought and directness of statement, when he investigated any problem, he carried the analysis to the end and presented the results simply and cogently. He was honest, open to no bribe. He was fearless in word and act. When he faced a duty, no personal interest or advantage to himself could swerve him. There were occasions in his public career when silence or inaction would have been immensely profitable. A weak man would have held his voice and refrained from action; Altgeld spoke out and acted, though fully aware of consequences. The two events that are most commonly connected with his name—the pardon of the Chicago anarchists and his action in the railroad strike of 1894—were typical of the man. As governor, he brought about notable judicial and industrial reforms. It was he who started the State University on its advance from a position of insignificance to one of leadership. In the councils of the Democratic party his voice and influence did much to give respect and dignity to its position. Mr. Browne has given us a stimulating account of the achievement of a truly great and able leader.

The Detroit schools are notable for the bold and original tests of new ideas and theories in education that have been tried out in them. The book on "Child Accounting"[5] by Arthur B. Moehlman is the result of one phase of this activity. It will be read with interest and profit by schoolmen generally. No one who has not looked into the matter of the keeping of records of individuals can imagine its difficulties and pitfalls. Even so simple a matter as a school census and the statement of percentage attendance has required experience and experiment through years to develop a method that shall give reliable and comparable results. The desideratum is to secure records which shall give all the important facts regarding every child from birth until it has gone through its school work and out into the world. Teachers have neither time, strength nor inclination for unnecessary records. Every record should have a reason for its making and some value in itself. All the records together should give a precise, reliable and suggestive statement of any school or system of schools, completely comparable with similar records kept elsewhere. This book aims to direct the keeping of such records and to show the value, significance and method of child accounting. Its point of view is: ". . . the basic reason for statistics is the appraisal and the improvement of instruction. Not 'statistics for statistics sake' but reliable records adequate for the uses that are to be made of them."

FREDERICK STARR.

War is one of the great afflictions of Humanity. It destroys religion, the state, the family. In truth all calamities are preferable to it. Famine and pestilence are nothing in comparison. . . . The force of arms must be kept far from matters of the Gospel.

—*Martin Luther.*

Certain things must be said, even if no one will listen, for nothing is more shameful or more unwholesome than to lack knowledge in an affair where evidence is rare and indispensable.—*Paul Cohn,* 1921.

Respect for Individual Liberty ought to inspire a horror of demands for collective patriotism.—*Henri Hucket,* 1923.

In our day, only economic interests may unchain war; all else is pretext.—*General Serrigny,* 1920.

[3] "Mexico: An Interpretation." Carleton Beals. New York: 1923. B. W. Huebsch, Inc. 16mo; pp. iv, 280.

[4] "Altgeld of Illinois: A Record of His Life and Work." Waldo R. Browne. New York: 1924. B. W. Huebsch, Inc. 16mo; pp. x, 342.

[5] "Child Accounting." Arthur B. Moehlman. Detroit: 1924. Courtis Standard Tests. 16mo; pp. 205.

CORRESPONDENCE

AROUND THE DINNER TABLE

Dear UNITY:

"And they shall come from the East and from the West bringing their gifts with them." It has been my privilege, during the last two weeks to be the partaker of these gifts,—not spices, nor gold nor jewels, nor trade,—but the greatest of all gifts, friendship. From one leaf of our guest book, I read these names: T. Z. Koo, China; Henry S. Townsend, Philippines; Hugh H. Gynn, Korea; Naquib Effendi, Kilada, Egypt; Asak Jennings, Angora, Turkey; Arthur S. Taylor, Rome; Edgar Mac Naughton, Kief, Russia; Albert M. Chesley, Portugal; Chas. E. Heald and Basil Mathews, England. My one regret, as we sat around the dinner table, talking of Egypt, China, Russia, Turkey and other parts of the world, was that you and every man and older boy, interested in the boys of the world, could not have been present. Let me share with you some of the crumbs which fell from the table.

We talked of China. All had heard of bandits, governmental difficulties, poverty, illiteracy and millions of people. T. Z. Koo revealed to us another China. Not a large man physically, he displayed energy, alertness and a drive that was almost American. He spoke quietly and with a reserve that commanded attention and gave weight to his remarks. He showed a heart interest in his country, that was not blinded by facts, nor discouraged by difficulties, that was not prejudiced because it was his country, but displayed a love for his native land unequalled. He did not fear the truth, no matter where it led him. His resume of the conference held last May by the Y. M. C. A. in Manchow, China, revealed that there were many men in the movement in China like him, who were anxious that the Y. M. C. A. be an organization not resting on past laurels, but one that could change and adapt itself to the growing needs of China. He told us of a new spirit among youth, of new religions which were being organized, of an anti-Christian spirit on the part of many of the returned students from America, Japan and France, of a nation-wide campaign under the leadership of James Yen of the Y. M. C. A., which was seeking, in co-operation with others, to teach China's millions to read. Many other things we talked about, but through all the conversations a fine Christian spirit displayed itself. His life is given to China, but through China he is a Citizen of the World and we were all convinced that the day was not far hence, when eyes would turn to China for Christian and world leadership.

While out in Asia, which you know contains 60% of the boys of the world, let us go over to Korea and see it through the eyes of Mr. Hugh H. Gynn. I had met him first in Seattle about two years ago. He royally entertained the family in Korea last December, so that it was exceedingly pleasant to meet him again here in Geneva. As we talked, I marvelled how all parts of the world were apparently facing similar problems. The whole question of Christianity and War, a Christian's attitude toward industry, inter-racial equality and hatreds, the influence of Russia's experiment in communism and new ways of organizing life, the rights of minorities and of the smaller nations, the changing emphasis of the Christian Gospel to social, international, inter-racial and industrial questions, and even the theological controversies shipped in wholesale from the Occident, all these were live issues in his home land. Even more interesting was the fact that there were many Christians in Korea who were testing their lives anew by the life of Jesus. When men volunteer a reduction in salary, a willingness to support themselves by day labor, so they might better serve through a Christian organization, or as I saw while in Korea, being willing to give one seventh of a weekly portion of rice to those in greater need, one realizes that the spirit of Jesus still commands the attention of men and will lead them out onto higher ground. Is it possible, I ask myself again and again, that our friends from the Orient will outdo us in sheer loyalty and consistency to the cause of Christianity? I cannot leave Korea without giving you Gynn's parting message: "Why do we look to God for leadership? What do we expect from such leadership? Socially, we see little hope ahead. Economically, we are apparently in a blind alley without much future and much hope. Politically, we are in the midst of chaos and time can only tell what the future will bring forth. Spiritually, we have put our trust in God. We believe that he is our Father and loves and cares for us. We also believe that eventually he will be victorious on earth as he is in heaven. If we are with him and under his leadership we will be victorious with him. Time is not the question as long as we are in line with the forces which sooner or later will be triumphant." Do you realize why I believe that the boys of Korea have much to contribute to the boys of the rest of the world?

One evening representatives of Egypt, Turkey and Russia were around the common table. They talked of a world little understood, much feared, and still where life is on the move. Naquib Effendi—Effendi meaning Mr.—spoke of his life in Assut. Nationalism is the keynote to the life in Egypt to-day. Old differences of religion and race smolder under the surface, while "Egypt for the Egyptians" has the stage. Christians and Mohammedans alike are anxious for an opportunity for freer expression and for the chance to try out their own ideas. They recognize their own weakness but feel that only by mistakes will they learn. Suspicion of anything foreign is in the air and those organizations supported by money from other countries are called upon to answer either directly or by their work such questions: What are you here for? What is your relation to your government? Is your motive service to Egypt or to your own countries? As we talked and he told of how in Assut he had started a Y. M. C. A. managed and organized by Egyptians who were anxious to serve the boys of Assut, and hold up to them ideals of personal character and social service, I realized again that a life given in service to one's fellows wins and overrides religious, political and economic differences. Because the organization was in the hands of Egyptians, Mohammedans, Copts, and Protestants alike gave to the work. On the heart of this Christian Egyptian were the needs of the boys of Egypt who eagerly seek learning that they may better fit themselves for leadership in their own country and through their country to the life of the world.

Jennings of Angora told of the Turks. He has come to love them and I could hear men say pro-Turk. His acquaintance is not through the newspapers, nor only through the lips of those who are their enemies. He has lived with them; he has worked with their leaders in Angora. He has travelled throughout Asia Minor in comfortable trains, running on time, and all controlled and run by Turks. A few years ago he was told that the Turks couldn't do it. He has seen their struggle to separate Church and State and their apparent victory in spite of prejudices and opposition both from within and without. He told of the new homes being built, new sewerage and electric light systems, new methods of transportation and a new spirit. He does not excuse their faults any more than he excuses the faults of those that call themselves Christians. He has gone among them, eager to serve and to know them as a friend and he has found them friendly and human. The needs of the boys of Turkey are on his heart. He believes that "inasmuch as ye do it unto one of the least of these my children, ye do it unto me." When a man leaves a fine growing family several thousand of miles away and lives his life in the spirit of service among those of another race and religion, and then reports that he has found response to friendliness, eagerness to absorb and learn of the best of others' experience, hearts which beat true when understood, his testimony is worth considering and acting on.

Travelling northward to Russia, we talked of the new experiment of the students in the universities, many of whom still need help from without, of the children colonies, of new methods in education and industry, of unemployment and red tape. We were surprised to learn that many students from China and Korea were being taken to Moscow for free education, that they might return to their own countries to spread the idea of Communism. The young people have not been overlooked. There are 500,000 in the Young People's Communist League, and many of these lead the boys and girls of the nation in Pioneer organizations. Two of their weekly magazines came to my desk recently. They have the appearance of the Saturday Evening Post of America and contain such articles as: The Life of Edison, Motion Pictures, The Earthquake in Japan, Life in China, The Way New York Plans to Handle Her Traffic, Ways of Handling Boys' Camps, etc. Still through all the conversation, we realized that new life was throbbing in Russia and that she must soon take her place in the commonwealth of nations. Whether we agree with her policies or not, we must recognize that there is a spirit in Russia which believes it has discovered a better way of life and willingly spends money, time and energy to educate its young, to spread its ideas and methods among the nations of the world.

The story as told by Chesley would fill a book. For several years he has been going from country to country in the interest of boys. He lives for three months in a city and when he leaves he has established a Boys' Work Department under native leadership with an all-round program of activity. High School

THE FIELD

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

100 Fifth Avenue, New York City

December, 1924.

To Our Friends:

We are up against a fight in Paterson, N. J., in which we are all involved through the indictment of Roger N. Baldwin, our director, on a charge of unlawful assemblage. Mr. Baldwin goes to trial in the Court of Common Pleas on December 15th. He was recently indicted together with nine silk-strikers and sympathizers as a result of the free-speech protest meeting held under our auspices on the City Hall steps of Paterson on October 6th. The meeting was held there when the police by force closed the Turn Hall which we had engaged for a meeting in response to a request for help from the striking silk-workers.

The City Hall meeting was broken up at its start by the police, who arrested eleven persons, including two women who were carrying the American flag, and the chairman of the meeting who was attempting to read the Bill of Rights. The police in great excitement swung their clubs, injuring two men seriously and brutally attacking the crowd of 600.

Those arrested were fined in the police court for holding a meeting without a permit. Two were sentenced to five days in jail, but the sentences were reversed on appeal. The fines are also being appealed.

The grand jury indictment was sought by the chief of police. The indictment is based on an old English law of the seventeenth century.

We won the free-speech fight in Paterson within a week of the meeting which the police broke up. We won it by putting on meetings with distinguished speakers whom the police did not dare to attack. The silk-strikers have since been holding meetings without interference, and with any speakers they chose to have.

But the fight is not really won until we have beaten this case and secured reversals of the fines assessed. Paterson has been for years notorious for its lawless police attacks upon strikers, and we propose to end that condition if we can.

This job is costing us considerable money. It is necessary to raise a special fund of from $700 to $1,000 to handle it. All of you who are interested in the issue are asked to help.

We appeal also at this time to meet the special needs which have been put up to us during the year, and which we cannot meet in our regular operating budget of $19,000. These are the last two months of our fiscal year, and we face a deficit unless we raise the following amounts:

Printing Fund — Covering the printing of pamphlets and leaflets only; accumulated deficit to date	$1,769.31
Special campaign for civil rights in the coal-mining districts	330.93
Work for political prisoners in state prisons	325.16
Campaign in the last session of Congress covering the Virgin Islands civil government bill and changes in the deportation law	358.68
Total	$2,784.08

We do not like to tax any of our friends more than their regular contributions,—but we can make up this fund only by appealing to you. We ask each one of you either to contribute yourself, or, if you cannot, to interest a new contributor in the work.

If we pull together to make up this special fund, we can start our new year, February 1st, strong and solvent. There are a host of jobs on our hands,—and we can't let up on our militant fight in these days of intolerance and continued repression.

Sincerely yours,
John Haynes Holmes,
Acting Chairman,
Helen Phelps Stokes,
Treasurer.

NATIONAL BUREAU OF INFORMATION AND EDUCATION

15 East 40th Street, New York, N. Y.
Phone: Vanderbilt 7594

The results of the recent election indicate that while the American people are conservatively critical of any suggested economic and political changes they are nevertheless open to conviction when they know the facts.

Approximately 4,500,000 voters have already broken away from their old traditions and demanded a reorganization of our national political life.

To further increase intelligent voting, and to improve the personnel of government by electing to office men and women of the right calibre, we must now systematically enlarge and extend our public educational work.

This cannot be accomplished through spasmodic agitation in the few hurried weeks of a Presidential campaign. We must reach the voters with the facts during every month of the year.

To accomplish this we must have a definite program of education. This program must constitute an education in actual facts which cannot be controverted.

The National Bureau of Information and Education has already established a news service, a pamphlet service, and a

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Boys' Groups, Employed Boys' Brotherhoods, Scout Troops, Pioneer Clubs and a group of trained leaders remain. In Roumania, Esthonia, Portugal, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia he has found men and boys who are eager to learn to serve. His experience has not made him pessimistic for the future of Europe, he has become an apostle for World Brotherhood and a believer that the youth of these different nations are eager to build a better world on the principles of love and goodwill.

Through many of our conversations there has been the questioning voice of Basil Mathews of England. Not the questions of a doubter for no man believes more in Youth than does he, but the questions of a learner. Mathews was always curious to discover the reading needs of the youth in these different lands. He believes that through the story and the printed page youth can be led to a finer understanding of each other and to personal character which will fit them for World Citizenship. Mr. Mathews' service is one of the finest fruits of Portschach, the second world's conference for workers among boys, for Mr. Mathews comes to Geneva as a member of the staff of Boys' Department of the World's Committee of the Y. M. C. A. His main responsibility will be the literature Department and he wants to serve the boys of the world through their national organizations by means of the finest literature which can be secured. If you want to catch the spirit of the man's life, read his recent book, "The Clash of Colour." If you do not know where to get it, write to us in Geneva.

I could go on to Italy and the Fascisti Movement, to India, Japan, Germany. Have you caught, I wonder, through this meagre account, a glimpse of a new day?

Four impressions have come to me:

1. New forces are at work in all parts of the world. Many of them break the bonds of the past and over-run the channels of accepted methods and organizations, but back of them all is the desire for self-expression and the determination to build a better and a finer world. What will be the result? No one can tell, but to condemn and not to construct will not help. To understand is one of the first essentials.

2. Young life is expressing itself and being heard. Whether it finds its fullest expression within or without Christian organizations, depends on the spirit of the leaders of these organizations.

3. Sympathy wins where other methods fail. Only when one approaches those of another language, race, nation in the spirit of friendliness and service, does one discover the true worth of the other group. When one is privileged to see the inner motives of the other man, he finds a personality which responds to similar ideals, which loves, hates, prays and worships, but which finally is eager to learn from others and join his energy and force with the other friendly spirits in building a better world.

4. The spirit of Jesus is still at work among men in all parts of the world and continuously challenges men to re-shape their lives, to re-organize the society in which they live and to rebuild on broader and finer lines. God moves in mysterious ways his wonders to perform. He is not alone the God of the white or the black or the brown, but the Father of all men. His gifts are shared by all and no nation has a monopoly.

Shall we be in tune with His purposes?

TRACY STRONG.

publicity channel which have been doing effective work for several years. These facilities will now be enlarged and extended to meet the existing situation.

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1—Financial Imperialism.
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5—Agriculture.
6—Labor and Unemployment.
7—Taxation and Tariff.
8—Distribution of Wealth.
9—Progress of Liberalism.
10—Politics and Election Laws.
11—Prisons.
12—War and Peace.

This work divides itself into three parts: (1) Preparation, corroboration and publication of the facts which the voter should know. (2) Guarantee of the necessary budget through voluntary monthly contributions. (3) Distribution of the facts through newspaper articles, leaflets, pamphlets and correspondence courses.

It has been suggested that we also furnish our members, subscribers and others, at frequent intervals, with leaflets containing photographic reproductions of articles carefully selected from the press as the most important and significant news items. In this way our friends will be assisted in visualizing the progress of events and the tendencies of the times.

To operate this entire plan will require a budget of $2,500 per month, the details of which we shall be glad to furnish you. Realizing the importance of such an educational service, what amount will you agree to contribute monthly towards this budget?

We are not asking for money now. We are asking you to fill in the coupon below with the understanding that when the entire budget is pledged you will send us your first remittance and will continue to send us similar remittances every month, but with the privilege of cancellation upon sixty days written notice.

Such an educational service must be provided. We have the necessary facilities and we can provide it if you will help us to do so.

Sincerely yours,
J. A. H. Hopkins,
Chairman, Executive Committee.

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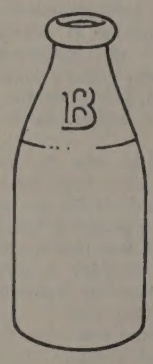

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